CURRICULUM VITAE OF
CHRISTOPHER LAYNE

College Station, TX 77845
- home
979.845.6985 - office
E-Mail: chrislayne@aol.com/clayne@tamu.edu

PRESENT POSITION:

University Distinguished Professor of International Affairs
Robert M. Gates Chair in National Security
George H W. Bush School of Government & Public Service,
Texas A & M University

PREVIOUS ACADEMIC POSITIONS:

Associate Professor of International Affairs (tenured)
George H. W. Bush School of Government & Public Service
Texas A & M University (August 2005 to August 2007), and

George H W.Bush School of Government and Public Service
Faculty Professorship of International Affairs (October 2006 to August 2007)

Associate Professor (untenured)
School of International Studies,
University of Miami, Florida
(August 2001 to August 2002)

Visiting Fellow
Center for Social Theory and Comparative History,
University of California, Los Angeles
(October 2000 to June 2001)

Visiting Associate Professor
Naval Postgraduate School
(July 1996 to September 1998)
International Security Program,
Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs
Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University
(September 1995 to July 1996)

Visiting Lecturer
Department of Political Science,
University of California, Los Angeles
(July 1991 to June 1995)

JUDICIAL CLERKSHIP: Law Clerk to the Honorable Richard A. Gadbois, Jr.,
United States District Judge,
Central District of California,
(September 1982 to September 1983)

EDUCATION: Ph.D. in Political Science (International Relations),
University of California at Berkeley, June 1981.

Diploma in Historical Studies, Corpus Christi College,
University of Cambridge, July 1980.

LL.M. in International Law, University of Virginia Law School, May 1975.

J.D., University of Southern California Law Center, June 1974.

B.A., Cum Laude, International Relations
University of Southern California, August 1971.

LEGAL POSITIONS:

Senior Associate: Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler,
Los Angeles, California (February 1989 to December 1990)

Partner: Blecher and Collins, Los Angeles, California
(October 1983 to January 1989)
(On leave January 1984 to February 1985).

Associate: Danning, Gill, Gould, Joseph and Diamond,
Los Angeles, California (March to September 1982).

NOBEL INSTITUTE FELLOWSHIP: Visiting Fellow, Norwegian Nobel Institute, May-June 2014.

RESEARCH GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS:

Research Grant, Charles Koch Foundation, AY 2016/17

Visiting Fellow, Norwegian Nobel Institute, Spring 2014.

Research Grant, Earhart Foundation, 2005.

Research Grant, Earhart Foundation, 1999.

MacArthur Foundation Research and Writing Grant in Global Security, 1999.

Research Grant, Smith Richardson Foundation, AY 1998-99.

Research Grant, Earhart Foundation, 1996.

SERVICE:

Professional:

Member, Board of Editors, *Security Studies*.

Member, Editorial Board, *International Security*.

Member of the Governing Council, International Security Studies Section/International Studies Association.

Reviewer/Referee: *International Security*, *Security Studies*, *Review of International Studies*, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, *International Studies Perspectives, European Journal of International Relations, International Studies Quarterly*, *International Theory*, *Asian Security*, *Asian Perspectives*, *Review of International Political Economy*, *International Interactions, Journal of Strategic Studies, World Politics*, *Journal of Global Security Studies* Oxford University Press, Princeton University Press, Lynn Reinner. Cornell University Press, Yale University Press.

Faculty Member, Seminar XXI, MIT Security Studies Program (2005-2006, 2006-2007, 2007-2008. 2008-2009, 2009-2010, 2010-2011, 2011-2012, 2012-2013, 2013-2014, 2014-2015, 2015-2016).

Other:

Member, Council on Foreign Relations.

Contributing Editor, *The American Conservative* (2003-2012, 2015

to present)

CONSULTING:

Intelligence Community Associate (November 2008 to July 2014).

Member, NIC Study Group on Strategic Reactions to American Preeminence (December 2008 to July 2014).

Consultant, RAND Corporation (January 1995 to 1998).

Consultant, Strategic Assessments Group (2003 Project on U.S. Hegemony; 2004 Project on Measuring State Power).

TEACHING AWARD:

Association of Former Students of Texas A & M University Distinguished Achievement Award for Excellence in Teaching (October 2009).

PUBLICATIONS:

Dissertation:

British Grand Strategy, 1933-1939, (Ph.D. Dissertation) University of California at Berkeley, 1981. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1982.

Books:

After the Fall: International Politics, U.S. Grand Strategy, and the End of the Pax Americana, New Haven: Yale University Press. (Under Contract).

The Peace of Illusions: American Grand Strategy from 1940 to the Present, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006 (Studies in Security Affairs series). [Foreign language editions have been published in China, Romania, and Japan].

American Empire: A Debate, New York: Routledge, 2006, with Bradley A. Thayer.

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles:

"The Sino-American Power Shift and the End of the Liberal, Rules-Based International Order," *International Affairs* 2018, *forthcoming.*

"The American Foreign Policy Establishment and Grand Strategy: How American Elites Obstruct Strategic Adjustment," *International Politics*, Vol. 54:3 (June 2017).

"This Time Its Real: The End of Unipolarity and the *Pax Americana*," *International Studies Quarterly*, 56:1 (March 2012), pp. 202-212.

"The Unipolar Exit and the End of the Pax Americana," *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 24:2 (June 2011), pp. 149-164.

"The Waning of U.S. Hegemony - Myth or Reality?" *International Security*, 34:1 (Summer 2009), pp. 147-172.

"America's Middle East Strategy After Iraq: The Moment for Offshore Balancing Has Arrived," *Review of International Studies*, 35:1 (January 2009), pp. 5-25.

"Security Studies and the Use of History: Neville Chamberlain's Grand Strategy Revisited," *Security Studies*, 17:3 (July/September 2008), pp. 397-437.

"It's Over, Over There: The Coming Crack-Up in Transatlantic Relations," *International Politics*, 45:3 (May 2008), pp. 325-347.

"The Unipolar Illusion Revisited: The Coming End of the United States's 'Unipolar Moment'," *International Security*, 31:2 (Fall 2006), pp. 7-41.

"The 'Poster Child' for Offensive Realism: America as Global Hegemon," *Security Studies*, 12:2 (Winter 2002/03), pp. 120-164.

"Shell Games, Shallow Gains, and the Democratic Peace," *International History Review*, 23:4 (December 2001), pp. 799-813.

"U.S. Hegemony and the Perpetuation of NATO," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 23:3 (September 2000), pp. 5-59.

"From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America's Future Grand Strategy," *International Security*, 22:1 (Summer 1997), pp. 86-124.

"Kant or Cant? The Myth of the Democratic Peace," *International Security*, 19:2 (Fall 1994), pp. 5-49.

"The Unipolar Illusion: Why New Great Will Rise," *International*

Security, 17:4 (Spring 1993), pp. 5-51.

Book Chapters In University Press Books:

"U.S. Decline," in Michael Cox and Doug Stokes (eds.), U.S. Foreign Policy, New York: Oxford University Press, 2018, 3rd ed., *forthcoming.*

"The Sound of Distant Thunder: The Pre-World War I Anglo-German Rivalry as a Model for Sino-American Relations in the Early 21st Century," in Asle Toje, ed., *Will China's Rise be Peaceful? The Rise of Great Powers in Theory, History & Politics*, Oxford University Press, 2018, *forthcoming.*

'U.S. Foreign Policy in the Post-Unipolar World," in Michael E. Cox and Doug Stokes, eds., *U.S. Foreign Policy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, 2nd. Ed.

"Conclusion," in Kristen P. Williams, Steven E. Lobell, and Neal G. Jessie, eds., *Beyond Hegemons: Why Secondary States Support, Follow, or Challenge*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2012.

"The Influence of Theory on Grand Strategy: The U.S. and a Rising China," in Patrick James, Annette Freyberg-Inan, and Ewan Harrison, eds., *Rethinking Realism: Between Tradition and Innovation*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009.

"The Balance of Power and the War on Terrorism: The Paradoxes of American Hegemony," in T.V. Paul, James J. Wirtz, and Michel Fortmann, eds., *Balance of Power: Theory and Practice in the 21st Century* , Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2004.

"Lord Palmerston and the Triumph of Realism: Liberalism, the Balance of Power; and Anglo-French Relations, 1830-1848," in Miriam Fendius Elman, ed., *Paths to Peace: Is Democracy the Answer?* Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1997.

"Realism Redux: Strategic Independence in a Multipolar World," in

Daniel J. Kaufman, David S. Clark and Kevin P. Sheehan, *U.S. National Strategy for the 1990s*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Encyclopedia Entry:

"U.S. Grand Strategy," in Timothy J. Lynch, ed., *Oxford Encyclopedia of American Military and Diplomatic History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Book Reviews:

Contributor, H-Diplo Roundtable on Nuno Monteiro, *Unipolar Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2014). Posted 5 October 2015.

Review of Hal Brands, *What Good Is Grand Strategy?: Power and Purpose in American Statecraft from Harry S. Truman to George W. Bush*. (Cornell University Press, 2014). *American Historical Review* 120:2 (April 2015), pp. 658-659 .

Contributor, H-Diplo Roundtable on Geir Lundestad, *The Rise and Decline of the American 'Empire': Power and Its Limits in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012). Posted: 7 January 2014. http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Roundtable-6-5.pdf

Contributor, H-Diplo Roundtable on Robert J. Lieber, *Power and Willpower in the American Future: Why the United States is Not Destined to Decline* (New York Oxford University Press, 2012). Posted: 22 July 2013. http://www.h-net.org/~diplo/ISSF/PDF/ISSF-Roundtable-5-5.pdf

Review of David Calleo, *Follies of Power: America's Unipolar Fantasy*; and Carla Norrlof, *America's Global Advantage: U.S. Hegemony and International Cooperation. Perspectives on Politics*, 9:2 (June 2011), pp. 477-479.

Review of Dilip Hero, *After Empire: The Birth of a Multipolar World. History: Reviews of New Books*, 39:3 (June 2011), pp. 96-97.

Review of Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, *World Out of Balance: International Relations and the Challenge of*

American Hegemony. International Studies Review, 11:4 (December 2009), pp. 784-787.

Review of Robert S. Litvak, *Regime Change: U.S. Strategy Through the Prism of 9/11* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007). *Perspectives on Politics*, 5:4 (December 2007), pp. 870-871.

Review of Michael Hunt, *The American Ascendancy: How the United States Gained & Wielded Global Dominance* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). *Journal of American History*, 94:3 (December 2007), p. 1018.

Review of Andrew J. Bacevich and Eliot Cohen, eds., *War Over Kosovo: Politics and Strategy in a Global Age* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). *International History Review*, 25:4 (December 2003), pp. 985-987.

Commissioned Papers:

"The Unipolar Exit: The Unwinding of the *Pax Americana*." Submitted to the National Intelligence Council, August 2011.

"The Return of Great Power Politics: The U.S., China and the Last Clear Chance to Avoid War in Asia," Submitted to the National Intelligence Council, October 2012.

Rand Publications:

"Predicting Military Innovation," DRR-1613-A (with Jeffrey A. Issacson and John Arquilla).

"State Power in the 21st Century," DRR 1818-A (with Ashley Tellis).

Other Journal Articles:

"Hillary Clinton and Nuclear Weapons: Worse than Donald Trump?" *National Interest Online* (31 October 2016) http://nationalinterest.org/feature/hillary-clinton-nuclear-weapons-more-dangerous-trump-18241

"What Comes After U.S. Primacy: America Has to Wake Up to the to the New Normal," *National Interest Online* (6 September 2016) http://nationalinterest.org/feature/what-comes-after-us-primacy-17631

"Sleepwalking with Beijing," *National Interest*, No. 137 (May/June 2015),

"The Global Power Shift from West to East," *The National Interest*, 119 (May/June 2012).

"The (Almost) Triumph of Offshore Balancing," *The National Interest Online* (27 January 2012) http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/almost-triumph-offshore-balancing-6405

"The Contradictions of George F. Kennan," *The National Interest*, 117 (January/February 2012), pp. 67-78.

"China's Challenge to U.S. Hegemony," *Current History*, 107:705 (January 2008), pp. 13-18.

"Who Lost Iraq and Why it Matters: The Case for Offshore Balancing," *World Policy Journal*, 24:3 (Fall 2007), pp. 38-52.

"Impotent Power? Re-Examining the Nature of America's Hegemonic Power," *The National Interest*, 85 (September/October 2006), pp. 41-47.

"America as European Hegemon," *The National Interest*, 72 (Summer 2003), pp. 17-29.

"Through the Looking Glass: Offshore Balancing Revisited," *The Washington Quarterly*, 24:2 (Spring 2002), pp. 233-248.

"Kosovo: For the Record," *The National Interest*, 57 (Fall 1999), pp. 9-16. [With Benjamin Schwarz].

"Rethinking American Grand Strategy: Hegemony or Balance of Power in the Twenty-First Century," *World Policy Journal*, 15:2 (Summer 1998), pp. 8-28.

"House of Cards: America's Strategy Toward China," *World Policy Journal*, 14:3 (Fall 1997), pp. 77-95.

"Less is More: Minimal Realism in East Asia," *The National Interest*, 43 (Spring 1996), pp. 64-77.

"Reforming Post-Cold War Arms Sales Policy: The Crucial Link Between Exports and the Defense Industrial Base," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 18:4 (December 1995), pp. 1-32. [With Robert S. Metzger].

"American Hegemony--Without An Enemy," *Foreign Policy*, 92 (Fall 1993), pp. 5-23. [With Benjamin Schwarz].

"America's Stake in Soviet Stability," *World Policy Journal*, 8:1 (Winter 1990-91), pp. 61-88.

"Superpower Disengagement," *Foreign Policy*, 77 (Winter 1989-90), pp. 17-40.

"Realism Redux: Strategic Independence in a Multipolar World," *SAIS Review*, 9:2 (Summer/Fall 1989), pp. 19-44.

"Continental Divide--Time To Disengage in Europe," *The National Interest*, 13 (Fall 1988), pp. 13-27.

"Requiem for the Reagan Doctrine," *SAIS Review*, 8:1 (Winter/Spring 1987-88), pp. 1-17.

"Atlanticism Without NATO," *Foreign Policy*, 67 (Summer 1987), pp. 22-45.

"The Real Conservative Agenda," *Foreign Policy*, 61 (Winter 1985-86), pp. 73-93.

"Toward German Reunification?" *Journal of Contemporary Studies*, 7:4 (Fall 1984), pp. 7-37.

"Ending the Alliance," *Journal of Contemporary Studies*, 6:3 (Summer 1983), pp. 5-31.

"1914 Revisited: A Reply to Miles Kahler," *Orbis*, 24:4 (Winter 1981), pp. 719-750.

"The Multinational Enterprise in the International System," 13 *N.Y.U. J. Intl. L. & Pol.*, 27 (Spring 1980).

"British Grand Strategy, 1900-1939: Theory and Practice in

International Politics," *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 2:3 (December 1979), pp. 303-334.

Other Book Chapters:

"The *Real* Post-American World: The Pax Americana's End and the Future of World Politics," in Sean Clark and Sabrina Hoque, eds., *Debating a Post-American World: What Lies Ahead?* London: Routledge, 2011.

"The Unbearable Lightness of Soft Power," in Inderjeet Parmar and Michael Cox, eds., *Soft Power and U.S. Foreign Policy: Theoretical, Historical, and Contemporary Perspectives*, New York: Routledge, 2010.

"China's Role in American Grand Strategy: Partner, Regional Power, or Great Power Rival?" in Jim Rolfe, ed., *The Asia-Pacific: A Region of Transitions*, Honolulu: Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2003.

"Iraq and Beyond: 'Old Europe' and the End of American Hegemony," in Christina V. Balis and Simon Serfaty, eds., *Evolving Visions of America and Europe*, Washington, D.C.: The CSIS Press, 2004.

"Why Die for Gdansk?" in Ted Galen Carpenter and Barbara Conry, eds., *NATO Enlargement: Illusions and Reality*, Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1998.

"Minding Our Own Business: The Case for American Non-Participation in International Peacekeeping/Peacemaking Operations," in Donald C. F. Daniel and Bradd C. Hayes, eds., *Beyond Traditional Peacekeeping*, New York: Macmillan, 1995.

"American Grand Strategy After the Cold War: Primacy or Blue Water?" in Charles F. Hermann, ed., *1994 American Defense* Annual, New York: Lexington Books, for the Mershon Center, The Ohio State University, 1994.

"Rethinking NATO and Other Alliances in a Multipolar World," in David Boaz and Edward H. Crane, eds., *Market Liberalism: A Paradigm for the 21st Century*, Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1993.

"Ambivalent Past, Uncertain Future: America's Role in Post-Cold War Europe," in Ted Galen Carpenter, ed., *NATO at 40: Confronting A Changing World*, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990.

"NATO and the Next Administration: America's European Policy in the 1990s," in David Boaz, ed., *An American Vision*, Washington, D.C.: Cato Institute, 1989.

"Europe Between the Superpowers; New Trends in East-West Relations," in Ted Galen Carpenter, ed., *Collective Defense or Strategic Independence?* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1989.

Symposium Contributions:

"The Munich Myth and American Foreign Policy," in Kenneth M. Jensen and David Wurmser, eds., *The Meaning of Munich Fifty Years Later*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, (1990).

"After The Cold War: A Symposium On New Defense Priorities," *Policy Review*, (Summer 1990).

Magazine Articles:

"The Big Forces of History: Can the Era of America's Global Dominance Be Sustained?" *The American Conservative*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (January-February 2017), pp. 10-14.

"Stuck in the Middle East, *American Conservative* Vol. 15, No. 1 (January/February 2016), pp. 24-29.

"Obama's Missed Opportunities to Pivot Away From the Middle East," *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Summer 2015), pp. 11-21/.

"Avoiding a Sino-American Confrontation," *Atlantische Perspectief*, (July 2015), pp. 3-9.

"Zombie Hegemon: Using Current U.S. Preponderant Power to Hedge Against Tomorrow's Decline," *Chinese Social Sciences Today* [Published by Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], No. 570 (March 12, 2014).

"America's Offshore Balancing Strategy in East Asia," *Gaiko* [*Diplomacy*], Volume 23 (January 2014), pp. 20-25.

"Take Up the Slack: Is Grand Strategy Determined by Ambition or Politics?" *Weekly Standard*. 26 March 2012). [Review of Peter Trubowitz, *Politics and Ambition: Partisan Ambition and American Statecraft*, Princeton University Press 2011].

"Graceful Decline: The End of the Pax Americana," *The American Conservative*, May 1, 2010.

"The Grown-Ups' Table," *The American Conservative*, November 3, 2008.

"How Good was the Good War?" *The American Conservative*, July 14, 2008 (Symposium Contribution).

"Balancing Act," *The American Conservative*, September 10, 2007.

"Iran: The Logic of Deterrence," *The American Conservative*, April 10, 2006.

"Failure is an Option," *The American Conservative*, August 1, 2005.

"Wilson's Ghost," *The American Conservative*, February 28, 2005.

"The Next Emperor," *The American Conservative*, March 29, 2004.

"The Cost of Empire," *The American Conservative*, October 6, 2003.

"Revolt of the Europeans," *The American Conservative*, February 4, 2004.

"A New Grand Strategy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, January 2002 (with Benjamin Schwarz).

"NATO at 50, It's Time to Quit," *The Nation*, 10 May 1999 (with Benjamin Schwarz).

"The Case Against Intervention in Kosovo," *The Nation*, 19 April, 1999 (with Benjamin Schwarz).

"Why The Gulf War Was Not In the National Interest," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July 1991.

"Divorce, Alliance-Style," *The New Republic*, June 12, 1989 (with Alan Tonelson).

"Deutschland Uber Allies," *The New Republic*, September, 28 1987.

Uncertain Crusade: Jimmy Carter and the Dilemmas of Human Rights Policy"), *The New Republic*, February 2, 1987.

"Neocons vs. Eurowimps" (Review of Melvyn Krauss, "How NATO Weakens the West"), *Reason*, December 1986.

"The Solarz Report," *The New Republic*, May 19, 1986.

Newspaper Articles:

"U.S. Must Acknowledge China's Ambitions," *Boston Globe*, August 26, 2014.

"America's View of China Fogged by Liberal Ideas," *Financial Times,* August 17, 2014.

"A Timely Debate" *New York Times* Online "Room for Debate," 12 October 2011
http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2011/10/11/what-do-voters-want?hp

"Patraeus' Dubious Strategy in Afghanistan," *Chicago Tribune*, August 23, 2010.

"Twilight of the *Pax Americana*," Los Angeles Times, 29 September 2009 (with Benjamin C. Schwarz).

"Dick Cheney Has Led America Down the Road to Hell in Iraq," *The Australian*, February 26, 2007.

"Plotting a Course for Middle East Disaster," *The Australian*, January 18, 2007.

"America Cannot Rely on Power Alone," *Financial Times*, August 23, 2006.

"Don't Dig Yourself in Deeper," *The Australian*, June 30, 2005.

"No Adult Supervision," *The Australian*, November 17, 2004.

"Deeper Into the Abyss," *The Australian*, April 7, 2004.

"Supremacy is America's Weakness," Financial Times, August 13, 2003.

"A Lower Profile Would Make the United States a Smaller Target," *Los Angeles Times*, November 12, 2002 (with Benjamin Schwarz).

"The Power Paradox," *Los Angeles Times*, October 6, 2002.

"Bush-Rice Plan Identifies U.S. Interests," *Los Angeles Times*, October 24, 2000.

"Was It a Mistake? We Were Suckers for the KLA," *Washington Post* (Sunday Outlook), March 26, 2000 (with Benjamin. Schwarz).

"U.S. Must Stop Being a KLA Pawn," *Los Angeles Times*, March 5, 2000.

"Bush is Charting a Dangerous Course," *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1999.

"America's Role: What's Built Up Must Come Down," *Washington Post* (Sunday Outlook), November 14, 1999.

"A Fair Reading of History," *New York Times*, September 30, 1999 (with Benjamin Schwarz).

"Coming Home From 'Over There'," *Los Angeles Times*, (Sunday Opinion), August 29, 1999.

"The Next War in Kosovo Has Begun," *Los Angeles Times*, August 19, 1999.

"U.S. and NATO Have Put the Fox in the Chicken Coop," *Los Angeles Times*, 23 June 1999.

"Believe This: 'Credibility' Isn't the Issue," *Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 1999 (with Benjamin Schwarz).

"Making the World Safer for Business," *Los Angeles Times*, April 2, 1999 (with Benjamin Schwarz).

"In Search of a Middle Road on U.S. Policy Toward China," *Los Angeles Times* (Sunday Opinion), March 28, 1999.

"An Ill-Considered Pursuit of Dubious Objectives in Yugoslavia," *Boston Globe*, March 27, 1999.

"Congress is MIA in Bosnia Debate," *Los Angeles Times*, January 7, 1996.

"U.S. Policy in Bosnia: Beware the House of Pain," *Chicago Tribune*, December 7, 1995.

"Be Prepared to Contain the Carthage of the 1990s," *Los Angeles Times*, November 20, 1995.

"For the U.S., A Bosnian Trap," *Boston Globe*, November 17, 1995.

"Should NATO Close-Up Shop?" *Christian Science Monitor*, March 10, 1994 (with Benjamin Schwarz).

"Perspective on NATO Membership: The Alliance Is Only a Hunk of Myths," *Los Angeles Times*, January 13, 1994 (with Benjamin Schwarz).

"The Perils of Stability," *New York Times*, October 3, 1993 (with Benjamin Schwarz).

"Missing the Power Roll Call in Tokyo," *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1993.

"Pox Americana, Not Pax Americana," *New York Times*, March 18, 1993.

"Why Saddam Hussein Must Go," *Chicago Tribune*, January 28, 1993.

"Even Bush's Strong Suit is Weak," *Los Angeles Times*, August 18, 1992.

"Is America Marching to Folly Once Again?" *Los Angeles Times* (Sunday Opinion), August 9, 1992.

"Before the U.S. Rhetoric on Iraq Heats Up...," *Boston Globe*, August 3, 1992.

"Tragedy in the Balkans. So What?" *New York Times*, May 29, 1992.

"U.S.'s Superpower Concept is Fantasyland Policy," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 25, 1992.

"Proliferation is Safer in Guiding Hands," *Los Angeles Times*, February 9, 1992.

"Nations Must Look Out for No. 1," *Los Angeles Times*, January 3, 1992.

"Bush's 'Isolationist' Straw Man," *Washington Post*, December 22, 1991.

"Formulate A Stabilizing Policy," *Boston Globe*, August 30, 1991.

"What the U.S. Should Do," *Chicago Tribune*, August 30, 1991.

"A Foreseeable Failure in the Gulf," *Wall Street Journal*, May 23, 1991.

"A Cold War Chill Hovers Over 'New World Order,'" *Arizona Republic*, February 24, 1991.

"Don't Rush Into Folly in the Gulf," *Los Angeles Times*, November 6, 1990 (with Ted Galen Carpenter).

"Superpower Or Simply Supercop," *Arizona Republic*, October 21, 1990.

"Cold War's Over, Supercop Can Go Home," *Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 1990.

"NATO is a Relic Now, USA Should Let It Die," *USA Today*, July 5, 1990.

"U.S. Troops Mustn't Be the Obstacle," *Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 1990.

"Do Something Bold in Central Europe," *Wall Street Journal*, November 14, 1989.

"U.S. Tactical Nuclear Weapons Aim at the Heart of NATO Security," *Los Angeles Times*, May 30, 1989.

"Bush Can Turn the Tables on Gorbachev," *Wall Street Journal*, December 9, 1988.

"A Memo to the Next Secretary of State," *Chicago Tribune*, November 21, 1988.

"USA Should Withdraw Troops From Europe," *USA Today*, March 2, 1988.

"Lone Ranger Diplomacy a Risky Path for Liberals," *Los Angeles Times*, February 12, 1988.

"Defense Dollars: Our Allies Can Pull Their Own Weight," *Chicago Tribune*, January 20, 1988.

"The Deal Washington Should Strike With Nicaragua," *Chicago Tribune*, November 18, 1987.

"This Is No Place To Go It Alone," *USA Today*, August 27, 1987.

"Subverting Democracy for Power," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 1987.

"We Must Remember We Can't Police World," *USA Today*, May 22, 1987.

"Europe Must Provide For Its Own Defense," *USA Today*, April 21, 1987.

"The Overreaching Reagan Doctrine," *Wall Street Journal*, April 15, 1987.

"Europe: Bound to Be on Its Own," *Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 1986.

"A 'Marshall Plan II' for European Defense," *International Herald Tribune*, January 28, 1986.

"Should We Use Force in Central America?" *Chicago Tribune*, August 15, 1985.

"Our America-as-Germany Role," *Chicago Tribune*, May 8, 1985.

"Unlimited Thirst for Quagmires," *Los Angeles Times*, April 23, 1985.

"America's Pledge to German Reunification," *Wall Street Journal* (Europe), March 5, 1985.

"Europe Needs 'Star Wars,'" *Los Angeles Times*, March 4, 1985.

"Europe Needs a Post-Yalta Settlement," *Los Angeles Times*, February 13, 1985.

"The Weinberger Doctrine," *Los Angeles Times*, December 6, 1984.

"The Real Danger: Nicaragua as Another Cuba," *Los Angeles Times*, November 23, 1984.

"Arms Aren't the Root of U.S.-Soviet Strife," *Los Angeles Times*, October 26, 1984.

"Disengaging Superpowers in Europe," *Los Angeles Times*, September 10, 1984.

"Listening for the Guns of August," *Los Angeles Times*, August 3, 1984.

"The End of NATO, Unless --," *Los Angeles Times*, June 27, 1984.

Conference Papers and Symposia:

Chair and Panelist, Roundtable: "American Grand Strategy and Corporate Elite Networks." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, 16-19 March, 2016

Chair, Roundtable: "Jasen Castillo's Endurance and War- A Discussion." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, 16-19 March, 2016

Panelist, Roundtable: "IR Theories in Explaining Current Russian-Western Relations." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, 16-19 March, 2016

Panelist, Roundtable: The Origins and Evolution of U.S. Primacy: From World War II to the Present." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, 16-19 March, 2016

Panelist, Roundtable: "From Peaceful Power Transition to Great Power Peace." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, 16-19 March, 2016

Panelist, Roundtable on "Reconstructing Realism." Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Chicago, Illinois, 30 October-1 November 2015.

Panelist, Roundtable on "The Return of Great Power Politics: Asia in the Early 21st Century." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, 18-21 February, 2015.

Panelist, Roundtable on "The Sources of Changes and Variations in Grand Strategy: Global and Regional." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, 18-21 February, 2015.

Panelist, Roundtable on "Liberal Internationalism and the Rise of U.S. Hegemony." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, 18-21 February, 2015.

Panelist, Roundtable on "Grand Strategy or Grand Delusion?" International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, 18-21 February, 2015.

Chair, Panel on "The (Re-)Making of Strategic Cultures." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 26-29 March 2014.

Participant, Roundtable on "Status in World Politics" International

Studies Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 26-29 March 2014.

Participant, Roundtable on "What is a 'Conservative' Foreign Policy?" International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 26-29 March 2014.

Participant, Roundtable on "American Grand Strategy, Think Tanks, and the Asian Pivot."International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 26-29 March 2014.

Participant, Presidential Theme Roundtable: " U.S. Grand Strategy and the Diffusion of Power, Institutions and Ideas." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, 3-6 April March 2013.

Participant, Roundtable on "American Grand Strategy in the 21st Century: Adjusting to the Shifting Balance of World Forces." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, 3-6 April March 2013.

Participant, Roundtable on "The Transatlantic Relationship in an Age of Austerity and Geopolitical Change." International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, 3-6 April March 2013.

Panelist, Roundtable on "Is the United States Destined to Decline?" American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, 30 August-2 September 2012.

Participant, Roundtable on *Strategic Challenges of the Early Twenty-First Century: America in a Transforming World.* International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, 16-19 March 2011.

Discussant, Panel on *Status Competition and the Rise and Decline of Major Powers*. International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, 16-19 March 2011.

Discussant, Panel on *American Foreign Policy in Theory and Practice: Doctrines and U.S. Grand Strategy.* International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, 16-19 March 2011.

Participant, Roundtable on *What Lies Ahead? Debating the Prospects for a Post-American World*. International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, 16-19 March 2011.

Participant, Roundtable on *Assessing Obama's Impact on U.S. Foreign and Security Policy at Mid-Term*. International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, 16-19 March 2011.

Discussant, Pre-ISA Workshop on *Language and the Politics of Grand Strategy*. International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Montreal, Canada, 16-19 March 2011.

Chair and Discussant, Panel on "The Grand Strategy of the Obama Administration." American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 2010.

Paper Presenter: "Matching Military Means to Political Commitments: NATO's Extended Deterrence Problem in Eastern Europe," (co-authored with Jasen Castillo). American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 2010.

Roundtable Chair and Discussant, ISSS Distinguished Scholar Roundtable in Honor of Kenneth Waltz, International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, February 2010.

Paper Presenter, "Strategic Challenges Facing Regional Nuclear Weapons Powers: Initial Arguments from the Case of Pakistan," (co-authored with Jasen Castillo). International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, February 2010.

Panel Chair and Discussant, Panel on "The Return of Great Power Politics," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, February 2010.

Panel Chair and Discussant, "Panel on International Hegemony and Balancing," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New Orleans, LA, February 2010.

Discussant, Panel on "Unipolarity and War," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New York, NY, March 2009.

Discussant, Panel on "Status and the Great Powers," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New York, NY, March 2009.

Paper Presenter, "The Future of Great Power Strategic Rivalry in Asia," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, New York, NY, March 2009.

Discussant, Roundtable on "Is the United States in Decline Again?" American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, August 2008.

Discussant, Roundtable on "What Are the International Security Implications of Global Climate Change?" American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, August 2008.

Discussant, Panel on "America as Vindicator or Exemplar: The Soul of American Statecraft," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, August 2008.

Discussant and Organizer, Roundtable on "The Impact of World War I on Security Studies: Reflections and Reconsiderations," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, August 2008.

Paper Presenter, "The Triumph of Mackinder? Climate Change, Energy, and Russia's Great Power Resurgence," World International Studies Conference, Ljubljana, Slovenia, July 2008.

Paper Presenter, "America's Middle East Strategy After Iraq: The Moment for Offshore Balancing Has Arrived," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, August 2007.

Discussant, Panel on "The Return of Realism," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, August 2007.

Panelist, Roundtable: "Debating the Costs and Benefits of the American Empire," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, March 2007.

Discussant, Panel on "Why the Followers Won't Follow: Limitations of Hegemony," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, March 2007.

Chair (and panel organizer), "Military Transformations: Debating the Roles of Politics vs. Technology," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, March 2007.

Discussant, Roundtable on "American Hegemony in Historical Perspective: A Roundtable on Christopher Layne's The Peace of Illusions," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 2006.

Discussant, Panel on "Terrorism and Liberty: The Public Policy Tradeoffs," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, September 2006.

Discussant, Roundtable on "The Debate Continues: American Hegemony in Theoretical and Historical Perspective - Christopher Layne's The Peace of Illusions," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, California, March 2006.

Discussant, Roundtable on "Contesting Empire: The Limits and purposes of U.S. Imperialism," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Diego, California, March 2006.

Discussant, Roundtable on "Why No One Cares to Balance America," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 2005.

Paper Presenter, "Liberalism and American Over-Expansion: The Witches' Brew of Offensive Realism and Wilsonianism," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Honolulu, Hawaii, March 2005.

Paper Presenter, "The Poster 'Child' for Offensive Realism: America as Global Hegemon," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, August 2002.

Participant, Roundtable on Spencer Weart's Never at War, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., September 2000.

Paper Presenter, "Strategy, Interests and Values: The Continuing Relevance of Realism," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, California, March 2000.

Paper Presenter, "Realism and American Foreign Policy," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, September 1998.

Paper Presenter, "The Revolution in Military Affairs and the Future of Stability in Asia," American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California, August 1998.

Paper Presenter, "Why the United States Should Not Promote Democracy," International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Minneapolis, Minnesota, March 1998.

Participant, Roundtable on Eric Nordlinger's Isolationism Reconfigured, American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, September 1995.

FOREIGN POLICY RELATED TRAVEL:

Fulbright Senior Specialist, Visiting Lecturer at the University of Melbourne and the Australian National University, March 20013

Featured Speaker, Fokus USA Conference: The Future of U.S. Power in a Global Context, Norwegian Institute for Defence Studies Oslo, Norway, August 2011.

"The Diminishing Role of Europe in U.S. Grand Strategy," Conference on Evolving Strategic Environment and the Energy Security in the Wider Black Sea Region," Bucharest, Romania, December 2010.

Seminar Leader, Project on Japan's Security Horizon, Sasakawa Peace Foundation, Tokyo, Japan, October 2010.

Invited Lecture, "The Future of U.S. Grand Strategy," Sasakawa Peace Foundation, Tokyo, Japan, October 2010.

Invited Lecture, "After the Fall: International Politics After the *Pax Americana,*" National School for Political and Administrative Studies, Bucharest, Romania, July 2010.

Keynote Speaker, Nordic-American Dialogue, "Transatlantic Security Relations in the 21st Century," Avesta, Sweden, September 2009.

"After the Fall: International Politics After the Pax Americana," Swedish Institute for International Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden, September 2009.

Guest Lecturer, Romanian National Defence College, Bucharest, Romania, May 2009, July 2010, August 2011.

Guest Lecturer, Romanian National Defence College, Bucharest, Romania, December 2008.

XIth German-American Young Leaders' Conference, sponsored by American Council on Germany, August 1989.

Aspen Institute Berlin, Study Group on German-American Relations, 1986-1988.

Guest, West German Government Official Visitor's Programme, 23 September-7 October, 1985.

MEDIA APPEARANCES:

Newshour with Jim Lehrer (Kosovo), 23 June 1999.

CNN Newsnight (Foreign Policy Issues in the 1988 Presidential Campaign), 16 August 1988.

American Interests (Germany and the Western Alliance), 31 October 1987.

CNN Newsnight (U.S. Air Raid on Libya and Europe's Reaction), 15 April 1986.

CNN Prime News Sunday (The Philippines), 26 January 1986.

CNN Newsnight (Middle East, Highjacking and Terrorism), 30 June 1985.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS:

American Political Science Association; International Studies Association.

State Bar of California (admitted December 1974).

REFERENCES: Furnished upon request.